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黄中宪 / 译 /// 谭伯牛 / 校

天国之秋

2012年坎迪尔（Cundill Prize）历史奖大奖

China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War

AUTUMN IN THE HEAVENLY KINGDOM

〔美〕裴士锋

（Stephen R. Platt）/ 著

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

裴士锋 Stephen R. Platt

耶鲁大学中国史博士，其博士论文获颁瑟隆·费尔德奖（Theron Rockwell Field Prize）。目前执教于美国阿姆赫斯特马萨诸塞大学，著有《湖南人与现代中国》（Provincial Patriots: The Hunanese and Modern China）。他大学时主修英语，因此大学毕业后以雅礼协会老师的身份在中国湖南待了两年。他的研究得到富布莱特计划、美国国家人文基金会、蒋经国基金会支持。目前他与妻女住在马萨诸塞州的格林费尔德。

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Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom□

China□the West□and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War

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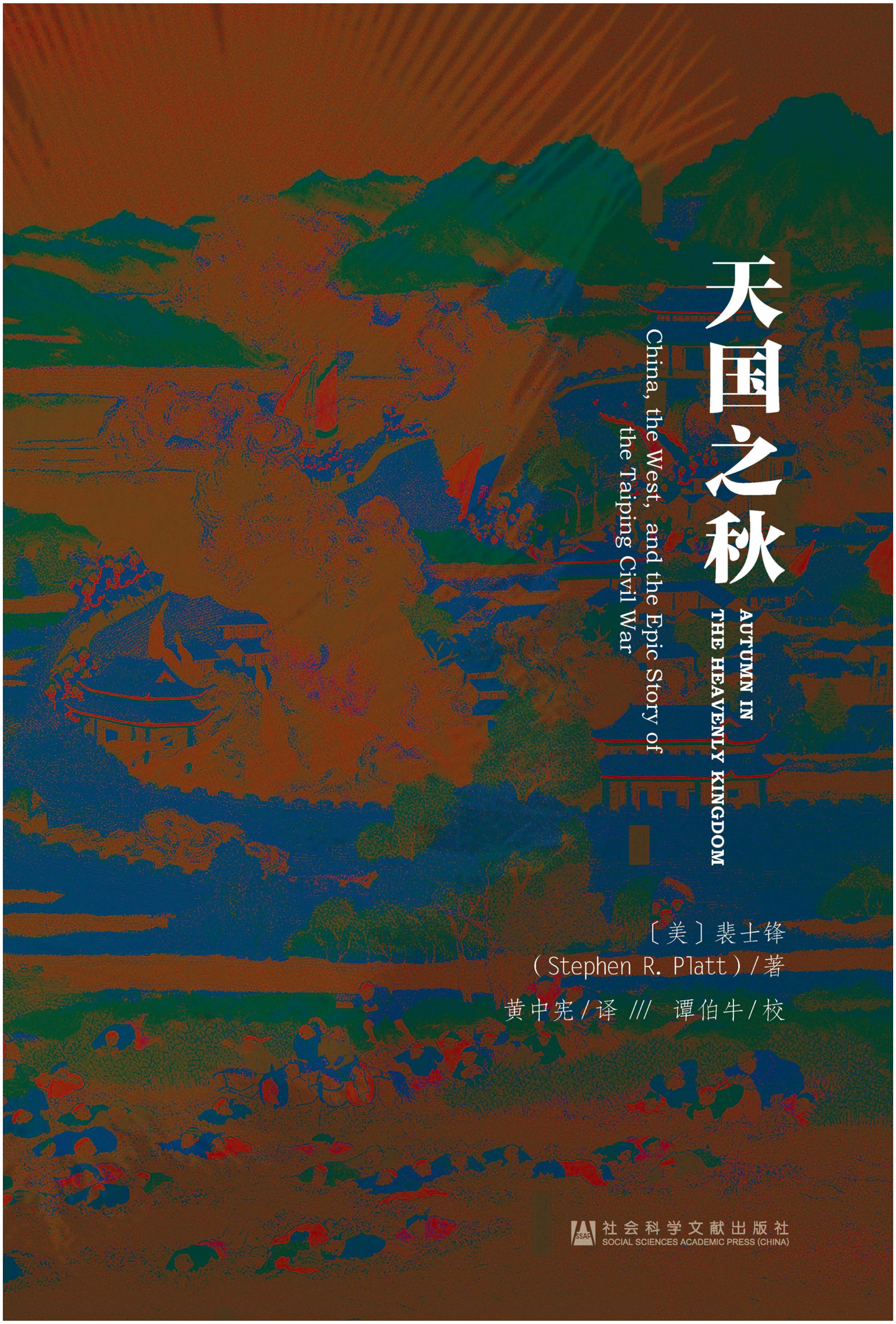

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夏福礼（Erederick Harvey）
密迪乐（Thomas Taylor Meadows）— 领事
福礼赐（Robert Forrest）

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法尔思德（Edward Forester）— 华尔的副手

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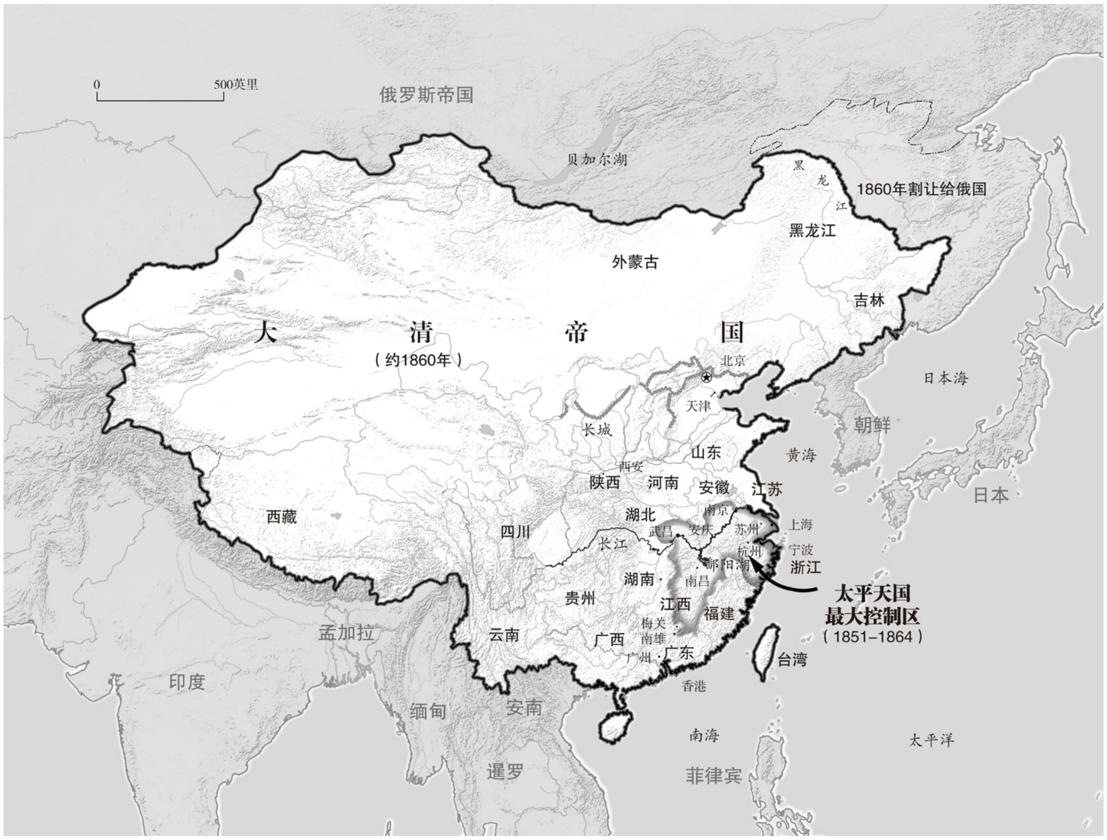

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北京
天津
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朝鲜
长城
山东
黄海
西安
陕西
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日本
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南京
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武昌
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鄱阳湖
浙江
湖南
南昌
贵州
江西
福建
太平天国
最大控制区
（1851–1864）
孟加拉
梅关
南雄
云南
广西
广州
广东
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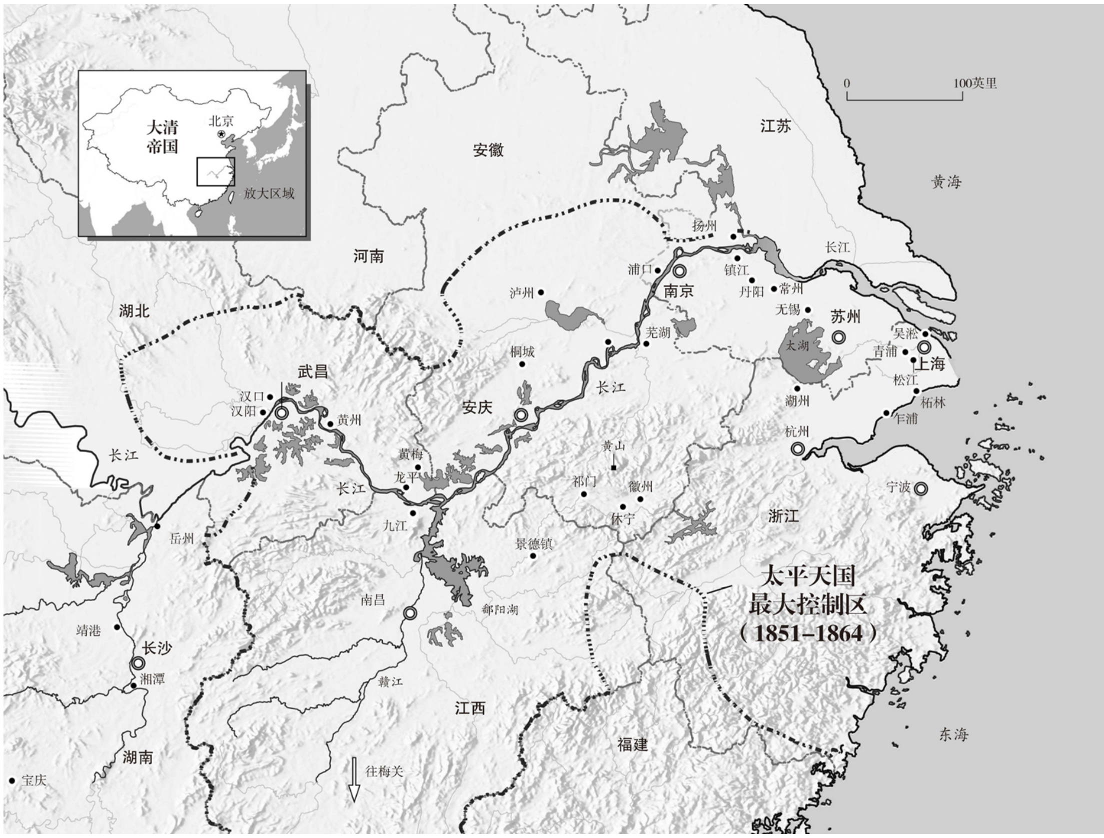
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青浦
上海
湖北
桐城
武昌
松江
汉口
汉阳
安庆
柘林
黄州
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黄山
黄梅
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徽州
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岳州
景德镇
太平天国
最大控制区
（1851–1864）
南昌
鄱阳湖
靖港
长沙
湘潭
赣江
江西
福建
东海
湖南
宝庆
往梅关

安庆之围
英王
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100英里
大清
帝国
北京
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区域
集贤关
安庆
菱湖
湘军包围线
城墙
长江
南京
多隆阿
的骑兵
桐城
忠王
汉阳
汉口
武昌
黄州
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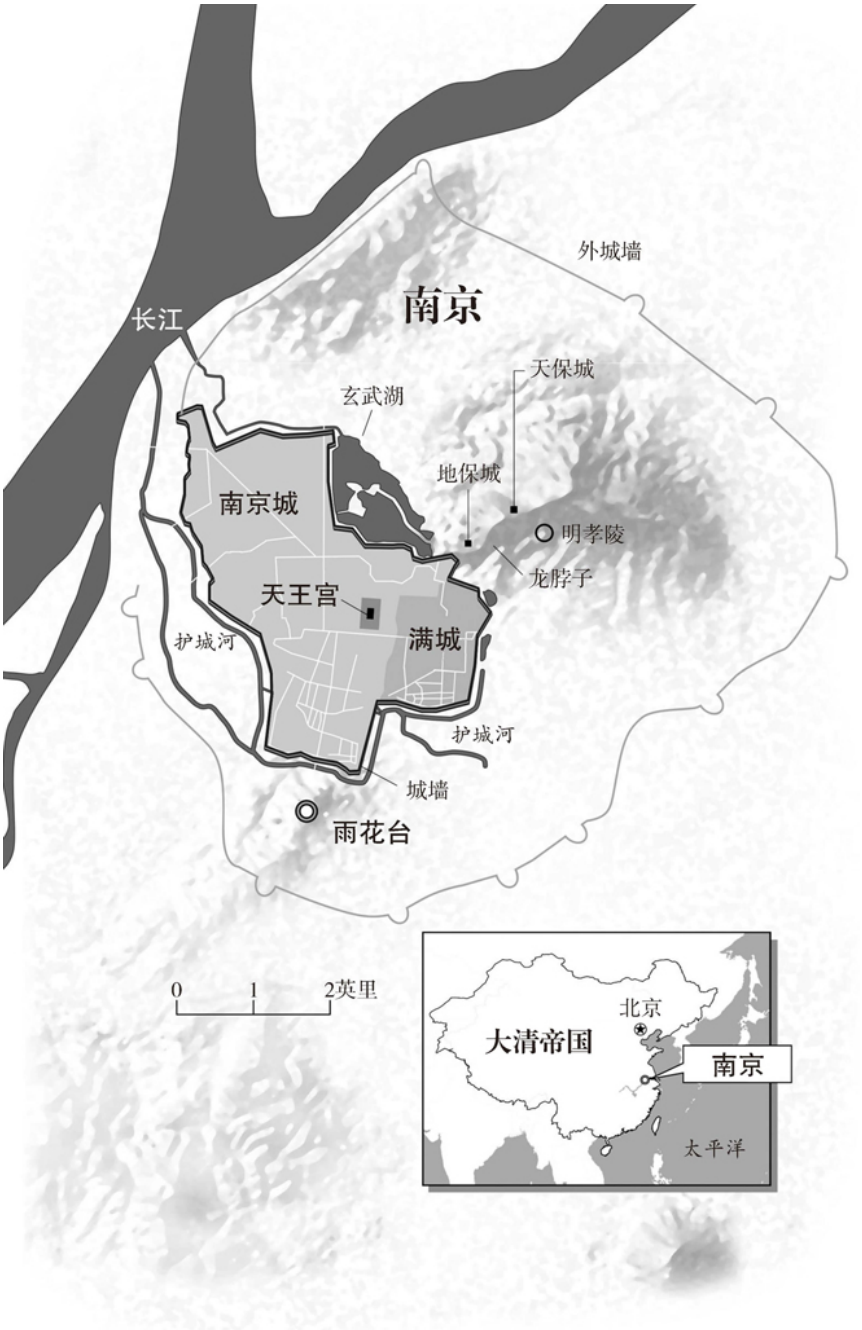

外城墙
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玄武湖
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[1] [illegible]“their empty gaze passing judgment on the settlers below”[illegible]——[illegible]

[2] James Legge□“The Colony of Hong Kong□” *The China Review* 3□1874□□165□173-175.

[3] The Rev.Theodore Hamberg□*The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen □ and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection*□HongKong□China Mail Office□1854□□pp.61-62.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1854□□61□62□□□□□□□□□□□1935□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1935□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1957□□829□878□□□□□□□□□□876□877□□

[4] □□“clandestine Catholic missionaries”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□——□□

[5] Susquehanna□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[6] “China□” *The Times*□June 21□1853.

[7] JonathanSpence□*God’s Chinese Son*□NewYork□Norton□1996□□pp198.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1996□□198□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2001□□316□□

[8] 1853□5□7□□□□□□□*The North-China Herald*□□□“□□”□□”

[9] Quoted in Dona Torr□ed.□*Marx on China□1853-1860*□London□Lawrence & Wishart□1968□□P.1.n.3.

[10] □□1995□□690□697□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[11] Karl Marx□“Revolution in Chinaand Europe□”□*New Yark Daily Tribune*□June 14□1853□in Tort□*Marxon China*□p.1.□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1853□6□14□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□1853□1860□□□□1□□1995□□□□690□697□□

[12] Karl Marx□“Revolution in Chinaand Europe□”□*New Yark Daily Tribune*□June 14□1853□in Tort□*Marxon China*□P.4.□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1853□6□14□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□1853□1860□□□□1□□1995□□□□690□697□□

[13] “The Revolutionin China”□editorial□□*Daily Picayune*□May 22□1853.

[14] “The Rebellion in China□” *North China Mail*□reprinted in *The Times*□April 8□1853.

[15] *The Times*□August 30□1853□editorial. beginning “The Chineserevolutionis in all respects”□.

[16] Carl T. Smith□“Notes on Friends and Relatives of Taiping Leaders□” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*□16□1976□□117-134□see p.121.

[17] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Franz Michael□*The Taiping Rebellion□History and Documents*□Seattle□University of WashingtonPress□1966-1971□□vol.3□pp.1511-1530□see p.1511..

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□13□14□24□29□□□□□

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[23] Hamberg□*The Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen*□p.63.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□1957□□878□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1982□□p.21.

[25] Smith□“Notes on Friends and Relatives□” p.122.

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[27] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Franz Michael□pp.1511-1512.

[28] Lauren F.Pfi ster□*Striving for “The Whole Duty of Man” James Leggeand the Scottish Protestant Encounter with China*□NewYork□PeterLang□2004□□pp 32-33.

[29] Legge□“The Colony of Hong Kong□” p.172.

[30] Helen Edith Legge□*James Legge□Missionary and Scholar*□London□The Religious Tract Society□1905□□p.91.□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1905□□91□□□□□□□□□□□Legge□H.E.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2011□

[31] Ralph Wardlaw Thompson□*Griffith John□The Story of Fifty Years in China*□London□The Religious Tract Society□1906□□p.125.

[32] □□“counterpart”□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Griffith John□□□□——□□

[33] Ralph Wardlaw Thompson□*Griffith John□The Story of Fifty Years in China*□London□The Religious Tract Society□1906□□p.125.

[34] Smith□“Notes on Friends and Relatives□” p.125.

[35] “The Taiping Rebellion□Its Rise and Fall□” *The Merchant’s Magazine and CommercialReview*□January 1865□pp.38-49□see p.44.

[36] Described in John Scarth□*Twelve Years in China*□Edinburgh□Thomas Constable & Co.□1860□□pp.106□239□also George Wingrove Cooke□*China□Being “The Times*” *Special Correspondence from China in the Years 1857-58*□London□G.Routledge & Co.□1858□□p.50.

[37] Thomas Taylor Meadows□*The Chinese and Their Rebellions*□Stanford□Calif.□Academic Reprints□1953□

orig.published 1856 by Smith□Elder & Co.□□p.454.

[38] Scarth□*Twelve Years in China*□pp.237-238.

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[40] Yung Wing□*My Life in China and America*□New York□Henry Holt & Co.□1909□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□1909□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1915□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□p.41□□□□□□□□p.52□□□□pp.53-54□

[41] James Legge□“The Colony of Hong Kong□” p.171.

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[43] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1999□□p.51.

[44] □□□□The *Taiping Revolutionary Movement*□New Haven□Conn.□Yale University Press□1973□□p.355.

[45] Pfister□*Striving for “The Whole Duty of Man*□” p.43.

[46] Adapted from translation in Michael□*The Taiping Rebellion*□vol.3□p.836.

[47] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

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[illegible]Frederick Bruce[illegible][65]

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contexts □ found him to be animated with twitching wiriness and a restless□searching energy.”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□——□□□□

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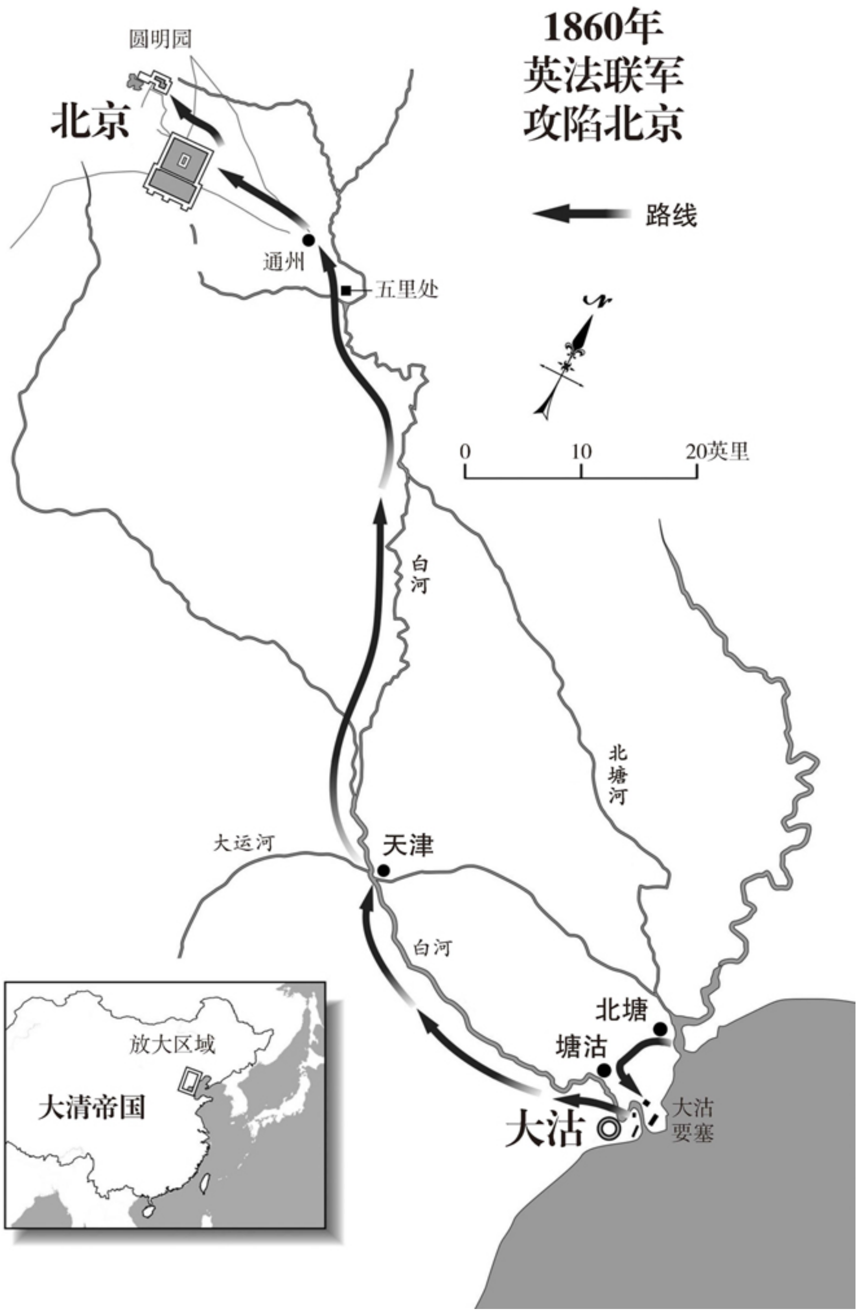
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[62] [illegible]1968[illegible]1855[illegible]366[illegible]378[illegible]

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[illegible]London Review[illegible]J.L.Holmes[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible]John Scarth[illegible]

[illegible]*Is Our War with the Tartars or the Chinese*[illegible]*Athenaeum*[illegible]“[illegible]”[29]

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Robert Forrest

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[35] Rennie□*Peking and the Pekingese*□vol.2□pp.141□125.

[36] Lolan Wang Grady□“The Career of I-Hsin□Prince Kung□1858-1880□A Case Study of the Limits of Reform in the Late Ch’ing□” Ph.D.diss.□University of Toronto□1980□p.101.

[37] Rennie□*Peking and the Pekingese*□vol.2□pp.128-129.

[38] Rennie□*Peking and the Pekingese*□vol.2□p.160.

[39] Hummel□*Eminent Chinese*□p.668□William Robson□*Griffith John*□*Founder of the Hankow Mission Central China*□London□S.W.Partridge & Co.□n.d.□1901□□□□60□□Lockart□□□□Dr.Lockart□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□60□□——□□□□□□Rennie□*Peking and the Pekingese*□vol.2□pp.125-166.

[40] Rennie□*Peking and the Pekingese*□vol.2□p.134.

[41] William Minns Tileston□letter to his mother□Shanghai□October 18□1860□Massachusetts Historical Society□Boston□Mass.

[42] Edward Bowra□diary□at School of Oriental and African Studies□PPMS 69□Bowra□Box 1□Folder 6□□accessed via Adam Matthew Digital□“China□Trade□Politics and Culture□1793-1980□” entry for June 1□1863□manuscript pp.35-36□.

[43] Josiah Cox□“A Missionary Visit to Nanking and the ‘Shield King□’” in *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices*□no.100□3rd ser.□April 1862□□61-66□□□□□□62□□

[44] “Extract from the Journal of the Rev.Josiah Cox□” in *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices*□no.101□3rd ser.□May 1862□□69-76□□□□□□70□□

[45] Cox□“A Missionary Visit to Nanking and the ‘Shield King□’” p.62.

[46] Cox□“A Missionary Visit to Nanking and the ‘Shield King□’” p.65□□J.S.Gregory□1956□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[47] Cox□“A Missionary Visit to Nanking and the ‘Shield King□’” p.62□□□□□□□□

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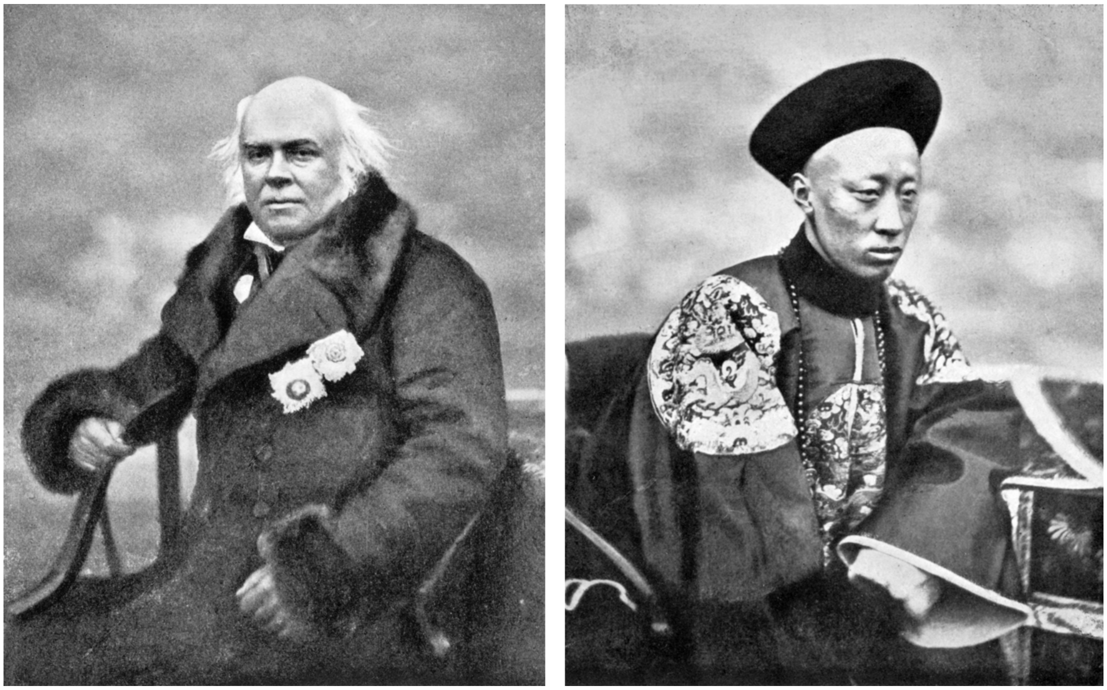

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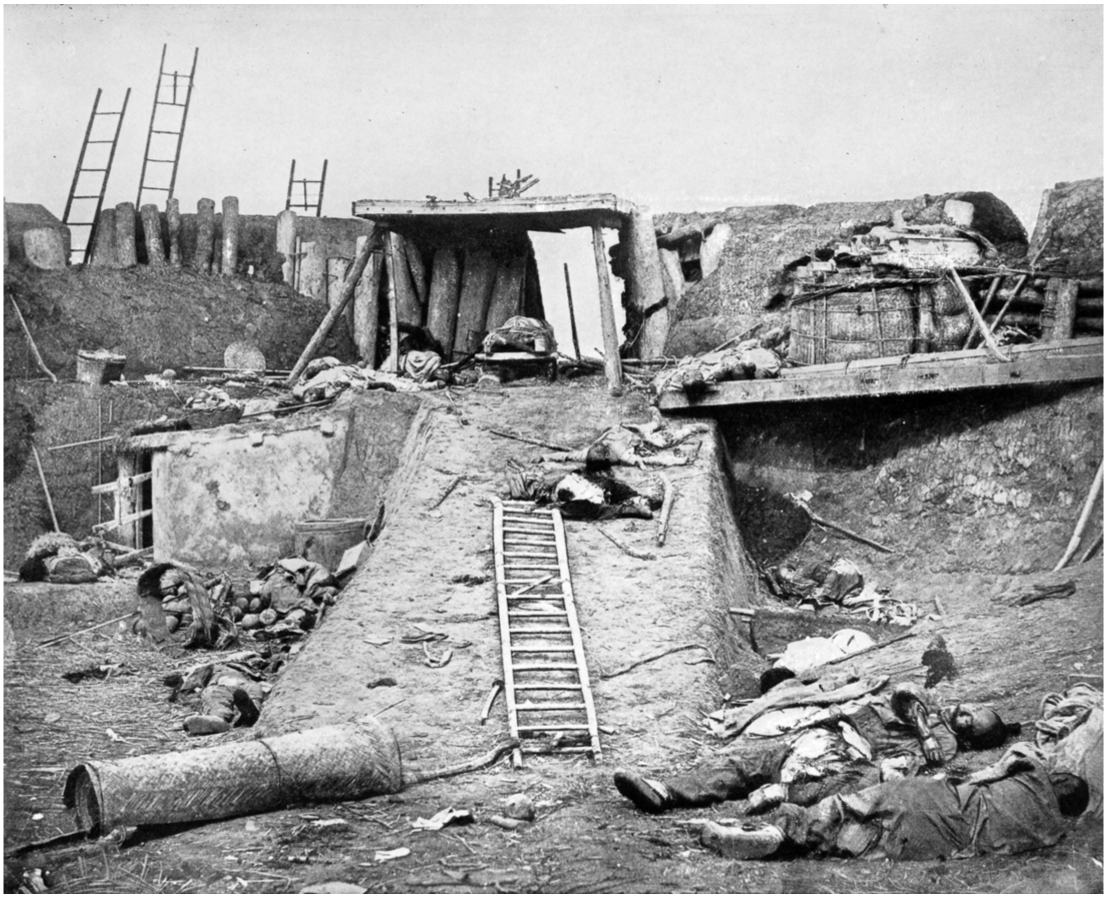

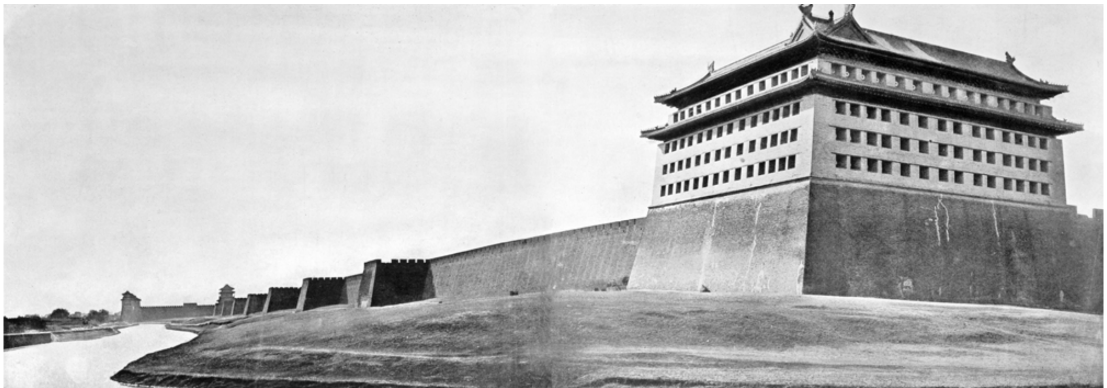

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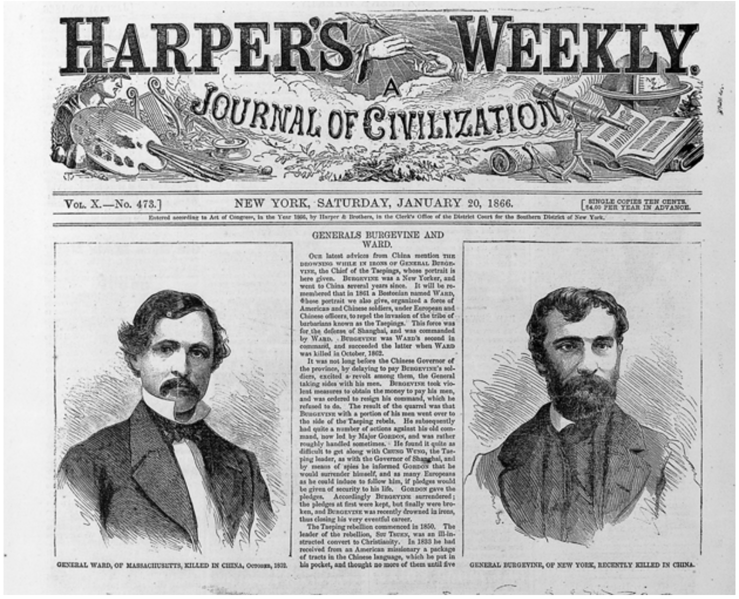

HARPER'S WEEKLY.
A JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

Vol. X.—No. 473.] NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1866. [SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. $4.00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

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GENERALS BURGEVINE AND WARD.

Our latest advices from China mention the drowning while in irons of General Burgevine, the Chief of the Taepings, whose portrait is here given. Burgevine was a New Yorker, and went to China several years since. It will be remembered that in 1861 a Bostonian named Ward, whose portrait we also give, organized a force of American and Chinese soldiers, under European and Chinese officers, to repel the invasion of the tribe of barbarians known as the Taepings. This force was for the defense of Shanghai, and was commanded by Ward. Burgevine was Ward's second in command, and succeeded the latter when Ward was killed in October, 1862.

It was not long before the Chinese Governor of the province, by delaying to pay Burgevine's soldiers, excited a revolt among them, the General taking sides with his men. Burgevine took violent measures to obtain the money to pay his men, and was ordered to resign his command, which he refused to do. The result of the quarrel was that Burgevine with a portion of his men went over to the side of the Taeping rebels. He subsequently had quite a number of actions against his old command, now led by Major Gordon, and was rather roughly handled sometimes. He found it quite as difficult to get along with Chung Wung, the Taeping leader, as with the Governor of Shanghai, and by means of spies he informed Gordon that he would surrender himself, and as many Europeans as he could induce to follow him, if pledges would be given of security to his life. Gordon gave the pledges. Accordingly Burgevine surrendered; the pledges at first were kept, but finally were broken, and Burgevine was recently drowned in irons, thus closing his very eventful career.

The Taeping rebellion commenced in 1850. The leader of the rebellion, Siu Tsuen, was an ill-instructed convert to Christianity. In 1833 he had received from an American missionary a package of tracts in the Chinese language, which he put in his pocket, and thought no more of them until five

GENERAL WARD, OF MASSACHUSETTS, KILLED IN CHINA, October, 1862.

GENERAL BURGEVINE, OF NEW YORK, RECENTLY KILLED IN CHINA.

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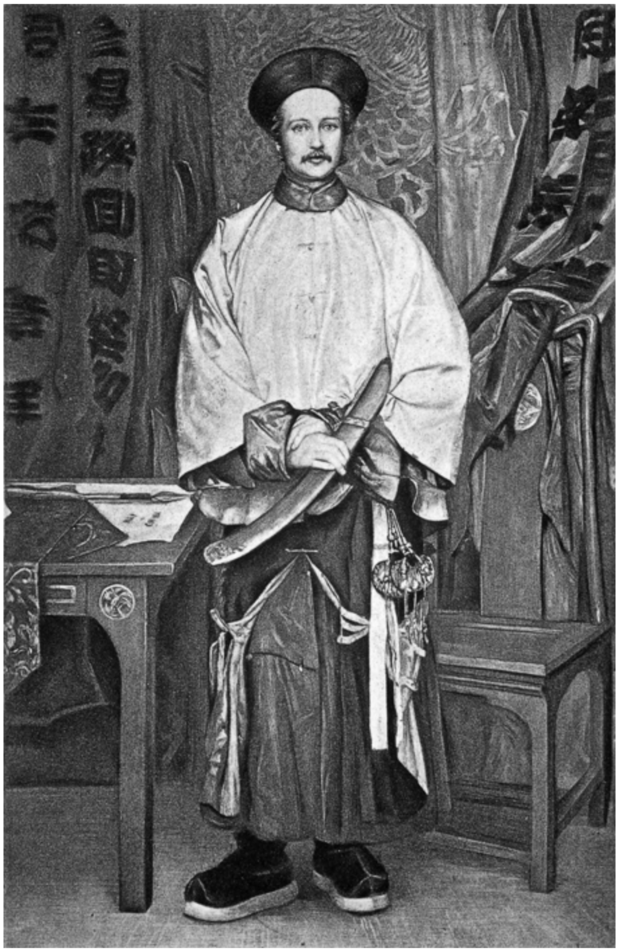

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[1] “The New War in China[illegible]” *The London Review*[illegible]July 12[illegible]1862[illegible]p.27.

[2] Eugene A.Brady[illegible]“A Reconsideration of the Lancashire ‘Cotton Famine[illegible]’” *Agricultural History* 37[illegible]no.3[illegible]July 1963[illegible]156-162[illegible]see p.159.

[3] “A History of the External Trade of China□1834-81□” in *Decennial Reports on the Trade□Navigation□Industries□etc.□of the Ports Open to Foreign Commerce□and on Conditions and Development of the Treaty Port Provinces*□5th issue□1922-1931□□□□□□□□□□□□□1933□□vol.1□pp.1-144□□□56□□□□Brady□“A Reconsideration□”□□□159□□□□

[4] Brady□“A Reconsideration□’” pp.156-158.

[5] “A History of the External Trade of China□1834-81□” pp.61 and 77.

[6] David McLean□letter of January 10□1863□from Shanghai.In letter book held at School of Oriental and African Studies□University of London□MS380401/11□□p.26.Accessed via Adam Matthew Digital□“China□Trade□Politics and Culture□1793-1980.”

[7] □□□James McPherson□*Battle Cry of Freedom□The Civil War Era*□New York□Oxford University Press□1988□□p.388.

[8] *The Times*□May 13□1861□editorial beginning “Every successive mail brings proof of the soundness of our latest policy towards China”□.

[9] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□cc.379-381□□□Platt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□c.□cc.□□□“column”□ “columns”□——□□□□

[10] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□cc.381□383□□□Platt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□c.□cc.□□□“column”□ “columns”□——□□□□

[11] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□c.391□□□Platt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□c.□cc.□□□“column”□ “columns”□——□□□□

[12] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□cc.383□385□□□Platt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□c.□cc.□□□“column”□ “columns”□——□□□□

[13] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□c.386□□□Platt□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□c.□cc.□□□“column”□ “columns”□——□□□□

[14] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□c.388□□□Platt□□c.□cc.□□□"column"□ "columns"□——□□□□

[15] *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* □ London □ T.C.Hansard□□May 31□1861□vol.163□c.401□□□Platt□□c.□cc.□□□"column"□ "columns"□——□□□□

[16] *The Times*□June 3□1861□editorial beginning "Our House of Commons□which claims to unite all power and all dexterity"□.

[17] C.A.Curwen□*Taiping Rebel□The Deposition of Li Hsiu-Ch'eng*□Cambridge□England□Cambridge University Press□1977□□p.258□n.14.

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[19] Curwen□*Taiping Rebel*□p.128.

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[23] Curwen□*Taiping Rebel*□p.129.

[24] Curwen□*Taiping Rebel*□p.260□□□26□□□□□□□□□□□Curwen□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1957□□□□□588□□□□□□260□□□26□——□□□□

[25] □□□1860□12□21□□□□□□□□□Consul Sinclair□□□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*□London□Harrison and Sons□1862□□p.2.

[26] □□□1860□12□23□□□□□□□□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*□London□Harrison and Sons□1862□□p.2.

[27] Hope□“Orders Addressed to Captain Dew□” Nagasaki□May 8□1861□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*□London□Harrison and Sons□1862□□p.16.

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[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□167□□

[31] □□1861□7□11□□□□□□□□□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiangRiver*□p.60.

[32] “Memorandum by Mr.Alabaster□on the condition of the Tae-ping Insurgents at Cha-poo□”□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiangRiver*□p.61□62.

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[34] □□1861□12□22□□□□□□□□□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiangRiver*□p.90□91.

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[37] "Memorandum by Mr.Parkes on the Capture of Ningpo by the Rebels□" in *Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*□pp.92-96□see esp.p.94.

[38] Moule□*Personal Recollections*□p.11.

[39] □□□1861□12□18□□□□□□□□E.Hammond□□□□*Papers Relating to the Rebellion in China*□*and Trade in the Yang-tze-kiang River*□p.89.

[40] Moule□*Personal Recollections*□p.9.

[41] W.H.□William Henry□Sykes□*The Taeping Rebellion in China*□*Its Origin*□*Progress*□*and Present Condition*□London□Warren Hall & Co.□1863□□p.34.

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[18] William James Hail□*Tseng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion*□*with a Short Sketch of His Later Career*□New Haven□Conn.□Yale University Press□1927□□p.285.

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[22] [illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]414[illegible]

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[24] [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]401[illegible]405[illegible]405[illegible]

[25] [illegible]1983[illegible]68[illegible]

[26] [illegible]2007[illegible]175[illegible]

[27] [illegible]68[illegible]

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[30] [illegible]420[illegible]1864[illegible]6[illegible]Curwen[illegible]*Taiping Rebel*[illegible]pp.297-299[illegible]n.42.

[31] [illegible]1864[illegible]6[illegible]19[illegible]2818[illegible]

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[34] [illegible]3.58[illegible]1864[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]212[illegible]

[35] [illegible]176[illegible]Jonathan Spence[illegible]*God's Chinese Son*[illegible]New York[illegible]W.W.Norton[illegible]1996[illegible]p.324[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2001[illegible]509[illegible]510[illegible]

[36] [illegible]176[illegible]

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[40] [illegible]1864[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]2831[illegible]

[41] Curwen[illegible]*Taiping Rebel*[illegible]pp.154-155.

[42] Curwen[illegible]*Taiping Rebel*[illegible]pp.155[illegible]156.

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[44] [illegible]1864[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]270[illegible]1864[illegible]7[illegible]25[illegible]274[illegible]

[45] [illegible]1864[illegible]7[illegible]26[illegible]274[illegible]

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[47] [illegible]1874[illegible]26[illegible]2001[illegible]225[illegible]

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[52] “Statement of Patrick Nellis□” in Prescott Clarke and J.S.Gregory□*Western Reports on the Taiping*□*A Selection of Documents*□Honolulu□University Press of Hawaii□1982□□pp.412-416□quotations□in paraphrase form□on p.415□Spence□*God’s Chinese Son*□p.329.

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[10] On the postwar depression in Shanghai，see Robert Bickers，*The Scramblefor China：Foreign Devils in the Qing Empire，1832-1914*（London：Allen Lane，2011），p.182.

[11] "Asia：Important from China and Japan：Foreign Relations with ChinaOut of Joint，" *New York Herald*，December 28，1865.

[12] Robert James Forrest，"The Christianity of Hung Tsiu Tsuen，" *Journalof the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*，new ser.，no.4（December 1867），187-208，quotation on p.188；reprinted in part in Prescott Clarke and J.S.Gregory，*Western Reports on the Taiping：ASelection of Documents*（Honolulu：University Press of Hawaii，1982），p.427；romanization modified.

[13] Forrest□“The Christianity of Hung Tsiu Tsuen□” p.188□□□□“T ’ ien-wang”□□“Heavenly King”□“Ch ’ ang-mao”□□“Taiping.”

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[15] Valentine Chirol□“The Chinese Revolution□” *The Quarterly Review* 216□no.431□April 1912□□536-553□quotations on pp.538-539.

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[1] [illegible]2007[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations [illegible]http[illegible]//www.ncuscr.org/cn/goals-programs[illegible]Yale-China Association[illegible]http[illegible]//www.yalechina.org/chinese/about/staff/[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

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索引

Page numbers in *italics* refer to maps.

Admiralty，British，246，291，416*n*

Afghanistan，48-9

Africa，302

Alabama，320

Alexander the Great，166

Amerika，26

Amherst，Lord，32，105

Amoy，302

Analects（Confucius），159

Anglo-Chinese College，23

Anglo-Chinese Flotilla（“Lay-Osborn flotilla”），297-303，316，317-18，325-8，329，333，334，353

Anhui Army（Huai Jun），257，260-1，271-3，337，345-6

Anhui province，114，131-5，136，137，139，154，162，172，191，192，204，206，207，208-9，219，232，251-2，255，256，257，272-3，291，292-3，308，324-5，338-40，344，356，357，358

Anqing，39，42，62，113-14，137-9，154，162-3，169，183，293，296-7，305-6，322-4，351，352，357

Anqing siege，154，162，169，190-215，194-5，216，217，219-20，232，237-8，245，246，252，253，256，291，342

Apak（pirate），278，281，414*n*

Armstrong guns，100-2，106，285，296

Arrow，28，29，36，102

Asia，37-8，63，118，119，174，319-20

Athenaeum，178

Attending King（Li Shixian），64，67-8，196，310

Audacieuse, 26

Balaclava, Battle of, 47

banking system, 61, 149, 233-4, 325

banner armies, 118, 137-8

Bao Chao, 137-8, 196, 198-9, 206-7, 210-11, 212, 214, 232, 295, 306, 308, 310, 339, 341, 344

Baoqing, 132

Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, 143

Baptists, 143-4

Bath, Marquess of, 166

Baxter, William, 236, 237, 239-40, 334

Beato, Felice, 97

beheadings, 21-2, 55, 93, 105, 122, 155, 156, 211-12, 227, 228, 280, 321, 334

Beijing, *see* Qing empire

Beitang River, 99-100, 103

"belligerent rights," 233-6, 299

Bible, 16, 19, 24, 59-60, 79, 81-2, 124, 142, 147, 149, 158, 159, 301

"bird guns," 121, 125, 295

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 326

Blakiston, Thomas, 220-1

blasphemy, 81-2, 146-7, 175-6, 228, 275, 301

blockades, naval, 137, 143, 204, 213

Blue Books, 29, 176-7, 186

Bouncer, 201

Bowlby, Thomas, 97, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108-9, 164-5, 394*n*

Bowra, Edward, 333-4

Brave King, *see* Chen Yucheng

Brown Bess muskets, 92

Bruce，Frederick，43-4，72-4，89-94，95，140-2，145，150，151，152，169-70，175-89，212-13，230-48，261，270，274，275，279，282-3，295，297，300，303，304，315，316，320，322，328，333，335，337，355，356，360，364，421*n*

Buchanan，James，36

Buchanan，Walter，236

Buddhism，16，53，59-60，62，80，156

Bull Run，First Battle of，232

Burgevine，Henry Andrea，266，315-16，318，319-21，325-6，328-9，421*n*

Burlingame，Anson，319-20，328，418*n*

cannibalism，215，252，338-9

Canton（Guangzhou），8，13，14，20，21-2，28，29，41，42，50，77，96，102，103，127，147，150-1，170-1，173，231，295，354

Canton Coolie Corps（CCC），96，266

Catholic Church，9，59，73，80

cavalry，87，96，101，104，105，107，209-10

Centaur，188

Changsha，116，127-8

Changzhou，69，154，253，343，344

Cheng Hao，160-1

Cheng Xueqi，318，319，320-1，329-31

Cheng Yi，160-1

Chen Yucheng（Brave King），64，65，191-203，207-12，219，239，251，291-3，343

Chiang Kai-shek，170

children，62，93-4，155，186，191，285，286-7，342-3，350-2

child soldiers，155，186

China

agriculture in，7，9，17，27，34，42，51-2，55，56，155-6，186-8，219-20，252，338-40，345-6

bandit gangs in, 9, 35, 50, 56, 63, 119, 121, 122, 124, 131, 135, 150, 291-2

civilization of, 35, 48-9, 58, 90, 159, 164-7, 236, 237

as closed society, xxiii, 10-11, 90

coastal areas of, 45-9, 219-20, 251, 326

disease in, 7-8, 17, 19-20, 99, 187, 211, 213, 304-7, 313

domestic market of, 11, 28, 232

dynasties of, 3-4, 54, 58, 63, 90-1, 120, 124, 142, 158, 160, 161, 180, 211, 294, 341, *see also* Qing empire

economic conditions in, 10-11, 25-6, 35, 71-2

education in, 3-4, 13-14, 20, 22, 114-16, 251, 253-4

ethnic Chinese in, xxv, xxvii, 3-4, 11-12, 28-9, 30, 63, 118, 129, 157, 160, 161, 177-9, 255, 323

foreign settlements in, xxiii-xxiv, 7, 9-11, 23, 35, 48-9, 50, 58, 71-4, 90

foreign trade of, 22, 25-6, 35, 71-2

hair style in, 70, 81, 154, 155, 156, 157, 187, 361

industrialization of，10-11，58，60-1，84，148-9，159，231，338

nationalist movements in，xxvii，58，157-8，173-82，359，361，362

“opening” of，10-11，60-1，103，149-50

peasantry of，33，69-70，90，124-5，129-30，148，154-6，186-8，252，255，338-40

population of，215，219，304-5，358-9

railroads in，xxiv，61，84，90，159，180，338

rebellions in，58，90-1，157-8，173-82，*see also* Taiping rebellion

scientific missions to，96-7，105

technological advances in，60-1，90，298

treaty ports of，26，35，70-1，145，146，150，200-3，231，233，237，238-45，262，281，300，304，306，320，*see also specific ports*

villages of，17，18，38-9，42，56，69-70，73，116-17，119-23，154-6，186-8，191-2，*see also specific villages*

Western influence in, 58-61, 74, 90, 148-9, 164-7, 180

China, 302

China, Peoples Republic of, xxviii, 170

China Daily Press, 261-2

China Mail, 97, 224, 261-2, 280

China Trade Report, 245

Chinese and Their Rebellions, The (Meadows), 90-1

Chinese language, 4, 13, 20, 41, 42, 89, 90

Chinese New Year, 163, 193, 265

Chinese Rebel Chief, The (Hamberg), 18-19

"Chinese Revolution, The," 84

cholera, 304-7

Christianity, xxvii, 8-9, 13, 15-20, 27, 39-41, 53-60, 62, 65-6, 73, 78-85, 89-90, 94, 123-5, 135, 140-9, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 167, 177-81, 221, 223-4, 227-30, 234, 260, 273-4, 275, 289, 290, 301, 307, 323-4, 405*n*

see also missionaries

civil service examinations, 3-4, 13-14, 20, 114-16, 158-9, 251, 253-4

Civil War, U.S., xxiv, 77, 87, 231-6, 247, 261-3, 282, 284, 288-9, 299, 301, 320, 325, 328, 334-5

Cixi (Empress Dowager, Yehonala), 224-7, 255-7, 356

Cobden, Richard, 334-5

Colt revolvers, 74, 142

Confucianism, 3-4, 13-14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 67, 90, 115-16, 119, 120, 123-5, 147, 158-61, 167, 211-12, 223, 251, 253-4, 289, 323

Confucius, 119, 159, 161, 167, 289

Confucius (steamer), 76

Congreve rockets, 31

Conservative Party, 175, 300-1

Consulate, British, 222-3, 243-5

Consulate, U.S., 170-1, 188

Cormorant，30，31

Coromandel 182

cotton，xxiv，72，232，284，335

Cox，Josiah，228-30，258

“crab formation，” 136

Crimean War，26，32，47，97

“crouching tiger” formation，136

Cuba，262-3

customs duties，150-1，240-1，260，284

Danyang，68，69，154，343-4

Daoism，53，62，80

daotai（imperial official），72，76，93，242-3，244，267，268，271，272，278，280，281，282，287，314，322

Darwin，Charles，96

Davidson and Co.，267

Davis，Jefferson，261，288

deserters，27，122-3，186-9，265

Dew，Roderick，239-42，276-9，280，281，282，291，333，408*n*，414*n*

Disraeli，Benjamin，300-1

Dongliu，213

Dragonne，31

Dragon’s Shoulder，342，344，347，348-9

Duanhua，168，225，227

Dublin University Magazine，178

Dunlop，Alexander，234-6，239-40，299

Duolonga，129，137，193，196，201，208，209-10，214，291，292，308-9

Eastern King，55，56，64，131

East India Company，179

Economist，10，178，288，333

Edkins，Jane，82-3，146，221-2

Edkins, Joseph, 79-83, 89-90, 146, 147, 221-3, 227

Elgin, James Bruce, Earl of, 25-34, 36, 37-43, 44, 45, 50, 53, 63, 79, 88-9, 94, 95, 101, 149-53, 164-7, 173, 176, 178, 283, 333

Ellenborough, Edward Law, Earl of, 175-6, 183

Elphinstone, William, 48-9

Emancipation Proclamation, 288

"empty city strategy," 141-2

encirclement strategy, 135-6, 264-5

Encounter, 239, 276, 281, 291

Enfield rifles, 165, 263, 266

Étoile, L', 276

Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, 83

Ever-Victorious Army, 267-70, 272, 285, 286, 314-36, 346, 363, 421*n*

famine, 215, 238, 252, 338-43, 344, 345-6

Fan (Taiping general), 274-5

Fane’s Horse, British, 96

Feng Yunshan, 16, 18

Ferrand, William, 334

filibusters, 75, 261, 269, 270, 316, 318, 319

Five Classics, 13

Five-Li Point, 104-6

Five Months on the Yang-tsze (Blakiston), 220-1

flagships, 127, 182, 302

Forbidden City, 106-7, 371*n*

Foreign Arms Corps, 267-8

Foreign Enlistment Act, 235, 299

Foreign Office, British, 89-90, 182, 247

Forester, Edward, 266, 286, 294, 315

Forrest, Robert, 186-8, 220-1, 360-1

Fortress of Earth，342，344，347

Fortress of Heaven，342，344

Four Books，13

France，10，26，29，30-1，32，33，40，44，59，73，80，140，141，145，150-1，164，165-6，168，171，172-3，243，244，280，281，282，285，286，291，296，314，323，337，344

Furious，25，34，38，175，298

Gan River，51，205，207

Gao Yongkuan（Receiving King），329-32

George III，King of England，110

gingals（*taiqiang*，“carried guns”），125，126，211，295

Gladstone，William，36，288，301-2

Go，113，135，138，340

gold，27，52，53，54，6i，109，203，230，286

Gong，Prince，108，149-50，168-73，212-13，225，226，227，234，296，297，320-1，326，327-8

Gordon，Charles “Chinese，” xv，xxvi，317-23，328-36，339，346，360，363，428*n*

Goverston（British sailor），263-4

Grand Canal，27，34，38，44，62，69，150，170，186

Grant，Ulysses S.，xxv

grapeshot，31，92

Great Britain

arms trade of，233-6，267，271

Christian culture of，20，40，59，79，80，83，147，163，167，228，289

domestic market of，232-3，284，302，335

economy of，xxiv，59，60，87，231-6，247，284-5，335

foreign policy of，xxiv，72-4，76，84，174-5，186-8，231-7

global empire of，23，28-9，72，87，96，151，173-82，232，281-2，284，287，291，333-4

press coverage in，83，84-5，93-4，97，100，102，103，151，164-5，177-9，282-91，300，302

public opinion in, 36, 42, 164-7, 177-82, 220-1, 247-8, 282-91, 332-3

Qing relations with, *see* Qing empire

Taiping Rebellion and neutrality of, xxiii-xxvi, 9-11, 25-49, 73-4, 79-85, 87, 89-92, 152-3, 172-9, 182-6, 200-3, 206, 231-48, 271-87

U.S. relations with, xxiv, 77, 87, 231-6, 247, 261-3, 282, 284, 288-9, 299, 301, 320, 325, 328, 334-5

Great Wall of China, 3, 65

Green Standard armies, 66, 118-19, 121, 123, 126, 129, 130, 134, 135-6, 139, 295, 307, 343

Grey, Earl, 86-7, 173-5, 176, 233, 239-40

Gros, Baron, 26, 30, 34, 86, 87, 88, 95, 103, 105, 109, 164

Guangdong province, 11, 50, 63, 64, 65, 157, 214

Guangxi province, 11, 16, 17, 56, 116, 118, 119, 127, 132, 157

gunboats，25-49，86，87，88，89，93，99，102，127，182，183，201，205，214，235，241，259，267，274-9，280，286，321

gunpowder，31，32，40，99-100，121，126，167，295，347-8

Guo Songtao，45

hair style，70，81，154，155，156，157，187，361

Hakka people，8，13，17，20，52，96，156，229

Hamberg，Theodore，8-9，12，13，15，18-20，22，27，55，59，60，143，229

Han dynasty，124

Hangzhou，65，66-7，72-3，154，207，237-8，245，253，256，274，343，344-5，353，361

Hangzhou Bay，238-9，314-15

Hankow，38，39，183，185，192，193，196，200-3，206，207，223，239

Hanlin Academy，115，253-4

Hanyang，193，201

Harvey, Frederick, 243-5, 246, 275, 278, 279, 280-1, 282, 284, 300

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 75

Heavenly King, *see* Hong Xiuquan

He Chun, 63, 64, 68, 114, 134, 295

Henan province, 291-2

Hero's Return to the Truth, A, 160-1

High Bridge (Gaoqiao), 273

Holland, Captain, 317

Hong Kong, xxiii, 7-8, 9, 12, 18, 19-20, 22-4, 26, 29, 41, 44, 50, 53, 57, 59, 62, 79, 83, 84, 91, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 152, 153, 163, 171, 177, 180, 229-30, 264, 282-3, 289, 354, 364, 413*n*

Hong Kong Daily Press, 281, 282

Hong Rengan

baptism of, 13, 20

in Canton, 13, 14, 50

Christian beliefs of，57-60，62，66，83，142，157，158，159，160-1，180，221，227-30，290

correspondence of，82-3，91，141，176

Cox’s relationship with，228-30，258

Edkins’s relationship with，82-3，146，221-3，227

education of，142-3

foreign relations of，65-6，89-90，141-9，157，183，191，192，201，203，210，220-1，236，271，273-4，283-4，337，353，363-4

as fugitive，18，19-20，22，24，25，50-3，54，79，353-4

Hakka ancestry of，8，13，20，52，229

Hamberg’s relationship with，8-9，13，18-20，55，59，60，143，229

in Hong Kong，18，19-20，22-4，57，59，62，79，83，148，163，180，229-30，289，364

as Hong Xiuquan’s adviser，15-16，17，22-4，53，55-6，66，79，83，141，146-7，161-2，208-9，228，257-8，289

John’s relationship with, 146-7, 148, 149, 221, 222-3, 227

Legge’s relationship with, 20, 22-3, 24, 53, 55, 59, 60, 79, 148, 163, 228, 229-30, 289-91

Li Xiuchengs rivalry with, 141-2, 214, 219

as military adviser, 55-6, 57, 58, 62-6, 141-3, 148, 149, 191, 192, 208-10, 214, 219-20, 293, 343-4

as military commander, 163, 180, 183, 208-10, 222, 343-4

missionary contacts of, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 79-80, 82-3, 89-90, 91, 142-9, 163, 180, 209, 221-3, 227-30, 257-60, 273-4, 289-91, 337, 338, 363-4

murder accusation against, 258-60

in Nanjing, 53-62, 84, 86, 141-9, 158, 159, 183, 193, 210, 217-18, 220-3, 227-30, 257-60, 293, 337-8, 343-4

palace of, 142-3, 144, 146, 158, 159-60, 163, 223, 229, 230, 257-60

personality of, 20, 52, 83, 209, 227-30, 257-60, 289-90, 337-8

political reforms proposed by，58-62，84，90，143-9，157-62，180，298，338，362

propaganda written by，143-9，159-62，217-18，236

reputation of，23-4，141-9，220-1，227-30，236，257-60，273，283，289-90，361

Roberts as assistant to，143-5，146，147，148，158，183，223-4，229，258-60，290，337

as Shield King，55-6，79，83，84，141-9，160-2，208-10，219，228，257-60，283，289-90，299，337-8

technology promoted by，60-1，90，298

treatise on government by，58-62，84，149，180

Yung Wing’s relationship with，147-9，324

Hong Xiuquan

background of，13-16，63，114，143

Christian theology of，8，14-20，22-3，40，80，82，83，141，146-7，156，161，177，181

civil service examinations failed by，13-14，114-15

correspondence of, 39-40

court of, 144, 146-7, 149, 222-3, 337-8

death of, 349, 353-4

edicts of, 146, 222-3

as emperor or Heavenly King, 16-18, 39-40, 54-6, 60, 66, 135, 144, 146-7, 181, 222-3, 234, 307

Hakka ancestry of, 13, 17

Hong Rengan as adviser to, 15-16, 17, 22-4, 53, 55-6, 66, 79, 83, 141, 146-7, 161-2, 208-9, 228, 257-8, 289

idolatry opposed by, 16, 17, 80, 82, 83, 141, 156, 161, 177, 181

in Nanjing, 50, 80, 222-3, 229, 234, 338

palace of, 54-5, 183, 185-6, 349

Parkess negotiations with, 183-6, 210

political leadership of, 55-7, 185-6, 222

as son of God, 16, 22-3, 40, 54-5, 81-2, 146-7, 209, 229

spiritual leadership of, 16-17, 22-3, 54-5, 146-7, 229

Taiping Heavenly Kingdom declared by, xviii, xxiii, 16-18, 24, 144, 161-2

visions experienced by, 14-16, 159-60

Young Monarch as heir to, 208, 338, 349-50, 353-4

Hope, James, 47, 152-3, 173-4, 175, 182, 184-6, 188, 201-2, 221, 232, 235, 237, 238-40, 242, 244, 245, 261, 263, 264, 268, 269-74, 278, 282-7, 290, 291, 293, 297, 315, 333, 398*n*, 413*n* 416*n*

"host and guest" (military strategy), 136-7, 311

House of Commons, British, 36, 166, 179-82, 234-6, 301, 334-5

House of Lords, British, 86-7, 166, 173, 176, 232

howitzers, 92, 101-2, 110

Huangmei, 52

Huangpu River, 70, 71, 247, 264

Huangshan (Yellow Mountain), 197

Huang Shuhua，351-2

Huangzhou，196，200-3，206

Hubei province，51，116，117，131-2，156，162，183，191，198，201，204，205，207，214，219，264，272-3，330，358

Hugo，Victor，165-6，167

Hunan Army（Xiang Jun），xxvi，245，251，252-3，291-2，305-6

Anti-Christian sentiments of，223

battalion structure of，126-7

campaign for Anqing，136-9，163，190-215，194-5，232，403*n*

campaign for Nanjing，293-5，307，308，310-13，315，318，340，341-3，345-8，428*n*

disbanding of，355-6，357

founding and early campaigns of，120-34

fund-raising for，123-5

importance of regional ties in，131-4，204

Li Hongzhang and, 254, 255

naval forces of, 127, 204, 212, 296-7, 326-7

pay scale of, 121, 129, 187

recruitment for, 120-1, 122

training of, 121-2, 129-30

victory and rampage at Nanjing, 348-52

weaponry used by, 125-6, 295

Yung Wing’s service to, 324-5

see also Zeng Guofan

Hunan province, 113-39, 172, 191, 201, 330, 351

“hundred birds” formation, 136

Huzhou, 343, 344, 353

Ignatiev, Nikolai Pavlovich, 171

Illustrated London News, 97, 165

India, 28-9, 72, 87, 96, 151, 174, 179, 180, 232, 281-2, 284, 287, 291

“Is Our War with the Tartars or the Chinese?” Scarth, 177-8

Ito Hirobumi, xxv-xxvi, 362-3

jade, 107-8, 115, 123, 163

Japan, 37-8, 61, 87, 120, 170, 362

Jasper, 302

Jesus Christ, 8, 16, 54, 81-2, 124, 141, 142, 159, 223, 229

Jiangnan region, 153-4, 157, 162, 219

Jiangsu province, 69, 70, 134, 141, 153, 154, 219, 246, 255, 256, 257, 267, 304, 312, 318, 323, 325, 333, 337, 339, 356 358, 397*n*

Jiangxi province, 51, 65, 131-2, 134-5, 162, 198, 199, 204-5, 206, 207, 219, 253, 255, 256, 257, 264, 342, 353, 354, 356, 358

Jingdezhen, 51, 132, 133, 134-5, 137, 199, 214

Jinggang, 127-8

jinshi degree，115，254

Jiujiang，130-1，183

Jixian Pass，191，207-12，214，215

John，Griffith，79，80，82-3，89，146-7，149，177，181，184，221，222-3，227

Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society，360-1

Kabul，48-9

Kangxi，Emperor of China，172

Kiang-Soo，302

kidnapping，187，287-8，350-2

King’s Dragoon Guards，British，96

kowtow，104-5，144

Kuper，Augustus Leopold，291

Lake Poyang，130-1，132，204-5

Lancashire，232，284，302，335

Lawrence□T. E.□“Lawrence of Arabia”□□317

Lay□Horatio Nelson□297-303□316□317-18□325-8□329□333□334□353

Layard□Austen□301

Legge□James□20□22-3□24□50□53□55□59□60□79□84□148□163□228□229-30□289-91

Liberal Party□36□175□179□247□288□300

Li Hongzhang□253-4□256□257□260-1□271-3□285□310□315□316□318□319□320-1□323□325□329□330-1□341□343□345-6□362

Lincoln□Abraham□232□233□319□320

Li Xiucheng□Loyal King□□56-7□64-73□80-92□114□140-2□145□151□152□154□162-3□176□181□183□191-209□214□219-23□237-8□245-6□253□260-74□286□291□293□294□307-iB□340-3□348□349-53□400*n*□427*n*

Lobscheid□Wilhelm□337

Loch□Henry□104□105□108

London *Daily News*□287-8□300

London Missionary Society, 20, 79, 83, 147, 163, 228, 289

London Review, 60, 177

"long dragons," 127

"longhairs," 70, 81, 121, 154, 155, 157, 218

Longping, 51-2

looting, 67, 73, 81, 100, 107-10, 129-30, 155, 171-2, 187, 201, 243-4, 291, 315, 350-2, 357-8

"Looty," 109

"Love the People" slogan, 129-30, 215

Loyal King, *see* Li Xiucheng

Luzhou, 291

Macartney, Lord, 32, 105, 109-10

Mackenzie, Richardson & Co., 271

Malthus, Thomas, 180

Manchuria, 25, 106-7, 113, 118

“Manilamen，” 77，95

Mao Zedong，170

Martin，William Alexander Parsons，27

Marx，Karl，10-11，174，231，283

matchlock muskets，119，125，126，211，267，295

Meadows，Thomas Taylor，90-1，175，176-7，283-4

Meiling Pass，51，354

Mencius，161

Miao Peilin，292-3

military police，126-7

militias，66，69-70，74-8，113-39，205

Ming dynasty，3-4，54，58，63，120，124，142，158，160，161，180，211，294，341

mining，61，62，150，338

missionaries，53，55，57，59，60，62，78-85，89-90，91，94，142-9，150，163，177-81，209，221-3，227-30，257-60，

265, 273-4, 289-91, 323-4, 337, 338, 363-4

Missionary Magazine, 83

Mississippi, 26

Mohawk 302

Mongols, 44, 63, 100-1, 104, 106, 138

Moon Ridge Pass, 205-6

Muirhead, William, 163, 183, 208-9

Muslims, 59-60, 63, 245, 308-9, 362

Muyin, 104-5, 225

Nanjing, *xxxiv*, 4, 9, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 27, 35, 39-40, 44, 50, 51, 52, 55, 62, 63, 64-8, 114, 130, 132, 134, 135-6, 152-3, 156, 162-3, 171-7, 172, 175, 182-6, 187, 191, 201, 202-3, 207, 235, 241, 242, 244, 252, 253, 271, 274, 371*n*

Nanjing, Treaty of (1842), xxv, 28, 29, 102

Nanjing siege, 64-8, 135-6, 143, 154, 180, 191, 293-5, 306, 307-13, 315, 318, 322, 323, 340-1, 342, 343, 348, 349-50, 355, 358, 362, 363, 402*n*, 428*n*

Napoleon III，Emperor of France，86，165

Napoleon field guns，77，260

Nellis，Patrick，353

Neo-Confucianism，115-16，120，159，160-1，211-12，223，251，253-4，323

Neva，261-2

New Orleans *Daily Picayune*，11-12，58

newspapers，61-2，159，180，338

New Testament，16，79，124，142

“New Work for the Aid of Government，A”（Hong Rengan），58-62，84

New-York Daily Tribune，10，174

New-York Evangelist，274

New York Herald，262，321-2

New York Times，31，36-7，94-5，248，262，281，321，333

Nian rebellion，35，135，193，245，291-2，322，362

Nicaragua，75-6

Nightingale，Florence，180

Ningbo，154，238-48，255-6，265，267，270，274-9，344

Ningbo incident，274-9，280-2，283，284，291，314，333，408*n*

North China and Japan Market Report，273

North-China Herald，81-2，93-4，97，181，182，223-4，261，265，281，317

Old Testament，59-60，81-2，224

opium，19，42，51，54，62，68，72，84，119，127，156，174，178，231，247

Opium War，xxv，7，9，10，26，28，37，70，76，102，150，174，296，360，362

Origin of Species（Darwin），96

Orthodox Russian Church，59

Osborn，Sherard，298-303

Overland Register，145，151，177

Overland Trade Report，281

Palmerston，Lord，28，36，43，86，164，165，173，176，179，234，236-7，288，299，300-2，316，334，335，359，360

Parker，Peter，27

Parkes，Harry，102-3，104，105-6，108，109，164-5，167，182-6，200-3，210，213，218-19，221，227，238，239，242，247-8，271，277，283，284，301，385*n*，386*n*，398*n*

Parliament，British，36，86-7，164-7，173，176，179-82，185，232，234-6，239-41，246，299，300-1，334-5，363

Peiho（White River），25，29-30，33-4，43-9，87，97-9，100，102，170，173，233，269，411*n*

Pekin，302

Peng Yulin，428*n*

Perry，Matthew，37

pirates，76，120，219-20，278，280，281

Plover，46

Powhatan，44，47，48

Presse，*Die*，283

Principles of Fortification，*The*，142

printing press，159，163，167

prisoners，93，105-6，108-9，119，121，204，205-6，247-8，286-8，300，321

“Progress in China”（Osborn），326

Protestantism，8-9，13，53-4，59-60，73，78-85，140-1，143-4，146-7，260，323-4

Protet，Auguste Léopold，269，273，276，285，291

Pukou，66，343

Punch，300

Qianlong，Emperor of China，217

Qimen，114，137-8，139，162，203，252，308

Qing empire

agriculture of，51-2，187，252

Anglo-French invasions of, 25-49, 86-9, 94, 95, 96-110, 98, 113-14, 139, 144, 146, 147, 150-2, 164-7, 173, 218, 226-7, 235, 247

armies of, 17-18, 44-5, 77, 116-17, 126, 127-39, 235

Beijing as capital of, 10, 25, 27, 30, 34, 43, 54, 72, 89, 95, 98, 103-7, 109, 115-16, 139, 144, 158, 162, 164-5, 216-17, 219, 226-7, 305, 322, 371*n*

Board of Punishments of, 105

Board of Revenue of, 168, 357

British neutrality and relations with, 10-11, 25-49, 71-4, 86-9, 150-1, 164-7, 168, 170, 171, 172-9, 201-3, 231-41, 271-3, 281-2, 284-6, 296-7, 315-16, 334-6, 337, 344, 359-64

British prisoners captured and executed by, 105-6, 108-9, 247-8

British trade negotiations with, 28, 29, 34-7, 38, 40, 72, 87, 88-9, 103, 147, 149-51, 165, 169, 170, 172-9, 182-6, 200-3, 212-13, 233, 281-2, 334-6, 359-60

British treaties with, xxv, 28, 29, 34-7, 38, 40, 72, 87, 103, 147, 149-51, 165, 169, 170, 182-6, 183, 200-3, 212-13,

233

cavalry of，100，101，106，129，137-8，193，196，201，208，209-10，214，291，292，308-9

child emperor of（Tongzhi，son of Xianfeng），217-18，224-7，255，265，299，300，356

civil service of，3-4，13-14，115-16，134-5，157-9，251，253-4，356

Confucian culture of，123-5，147，211-12，223，251，253-4，323

corruption in，90-1，115-16，118，150，197-8，217-18，356，363

court of，43-4，45，59，65，88，104-5，168-73，224-7，255-7，355-8，362

debts of，97，150-1，152

diplomatic relations of，27-30，34-5，40，43，59

downfall of，xxiv，10-11，69，81-2，87，90-1，110，116-17，153，174-5，213-14，216-18，224，231-2，237，257，289-90，322，335，355-8，359，361-4

duty and loyalty in, 119-22, 126-7, 128, 129-32, 135, 355-8

economy of, xxiii, 10-11, 23, 97, 102-3, 150-1, 152, 164, 240-1

emperors of, 3-4, 29, 30, 32, 90-1, 105, 122, 124-5, 150, 216-18, 257, 271

ethnic Chinese support for, 118, 129, 255, 323

executions in, 21-2, 70, 105, 122, 143, 147, 164-7, 211-12, 226-7, 255, 256, 329-33

food supplies of, 65, 129-30, 170-3

foreign policy of, 25-6, 48, 145, 168-73, 212-13

foreign trade of, xxiii, 48, 61, 87, 103, 150-1, 167, 170-3, 174, 175, 231-4, 240-1, 282, 283-4

forts of, 25, 27, 30-3, 34, 45-9, 97-100

French relations with, 10, 26, 29, 30-1, 32, 33, 40, 44, 73, 150-1, 164, 165-6, 168, 171, 172-3, 281, 282, 286, 291, 296, 314, 323, 337, 344

garrisons of，4，89，154，180，238，241-3，252，270，271-3，286，291

government of，3-4，12，26，27，42，55，57-8，72-3，76，87，90-1，92，97，125，134-5，140，145，146，150-1，157-9，165，168-73，174，176，216-19，224-7，235，236，240，241-3，254-7，296，297-8，307

Green Standard armies of，66，118-19，121，123，126，129，130，134，135-6，139，295，307，343

gunboat diplomacy used against，25-49，214，274-9

hair style of，70，81，155，156，361

hereditary banner armies of，118，137-8

imperial edicts of，168-73，224-7，255-7

imperial regents of，224-7，256

indemnity paid by，97，102-3，150-1，152，164，240-1

intelligence information on，8，9，45-6，100，144-5

local administration in，118-20，122-5，126，129-30，134-5，157

as Manchu dynasty，xxiii，xxv，xxvii，3，10，11-12，17-20，27，42，45，51-2，57-8，60，63，118，124-5，129，148，157，160，161，177-9，216-18，224-7，255，298，299，300

Mandate of Heaven for，90-1，124-5，162，217-18，356-7

map of，*xxx-xxxiii*

massacres committed by，105-9，236，246-8，285-9，316，329-33，334，342，349，350-2

mercenaries used by，xxiv-xxv，xxvi，26-7，74-8，95，172，181，186-9，235，242，261-2，265-70，272，273-4，280-1，285-9，291，293，294，296，298，314-6，346，360，363，421*n*

military budget of，118-19，121，123-5，129，131，187

military commanders of，44-5，48，63，67，68，88，113-39，244，*see also specific commanders*

militias used by，66，69-70，74-8，113-39，205

missionary relations of，146-7，150，323-4

naval forces of，127-8，131，137，143，172，173，271-3，296-303，362

Office of Foreign Affairs of，170，212-13，225，234，297-8，320-1，322，323，327

Parkes’s negotiations with，218-19，221，227，247-8

peace commissioners of，103，104-5

popular support for，xxiii，10-11，17-20，51-2，105，123-5，129-30

power struggles in，224-7，252，255-7，356

press coverage of，81，97，100，102，103，280-2

recruitment by，120-3，125，128，129，131-2

rule of，xxiii，17-20，51-2

Russian relations with，26，30，34，35-6，170-3，397*n*

Shanghai controlled by，70-1，92，135，140-2，144-5，256，260-1，264，270-3

stability of，xxvii-xxviii，52-3，89，116-18，123-5

steamships used by，271-3，296-303

supply lines of，64-6，129-30

taxation in, 150, 257, 271

territories controlled by, *xxx-xxxiii*, 50-2, 63, 171-3, 187

torture used by, 21-2, 108-9, 164-7

treaties negotiated by, xxv, 28, 29, 34-7, 38, 40, 72, 87, 103, 147, 149-51, 165, 169, 170, 182-6, 200-3, 212-13, 233

U.S. relations with, 26, 27, 31, 34, 35-6, 44, 47, 72, 170-1, 173, 282, 315-16, 319-20, 325, 328

weapons used by, 118-19, 121, 125-6, 171-3, 235, 295-6, 316

Qingpu, 74-5, 78, 187, 242, 261, 265, 285, 286, 294

Quarterly Review, 84-5, 94

racism, 11-12, 28-9, 58

railroads, xxiv, 61, 84, 90, 159, 180, 338

rape, 67, 154, 155, 176, 188

rebellions, xxvi-xxviii, 17-19, 45, 54-5, 90-1, 116-18, 173-82, 240-1

Receiving King, *see* Gao Yongkuan

Red Army，130

refugees，22，24，69，78-9，97，187，263，264-5，304-7

revolutions，10-11，57，84，145，157-8，173-9，283

rice，14，65，71，74，77-8，126，129，186，203，212，215，252，273，275，308，339

Ringdove，276，277

Roberts，Issachar，143-5，146，147，148，158，183，223-4，229，258-60，290，337

Royal Academy，166-7

Royal Asiatic Society，179-80，360-1

Royal Geographic Society，301

Royal Military Academy，142，317

Royal Navy，12，25-6，30-3，87，173，188，262-6，264，291，298-9，300

Royal Society for Statistics，180

Russell，Lord，87，88，151，164，176-7，179，180，181-2，185，186，234，236-7，239-40，241，247，276-7，288，298，

299，322

Russia，26，30，34，35-6，87，170-3，397*n*

Saginaw，262，267

salt，34，150，213，308

sampans，127，340

samurai，37，362

Saturday Evening Post，289

Scarth，John，177-8，236

Scully，Vincent，166

Senggelinqin，44-5，48，63，88，97，99-100，102，103-6，107，137-8，150，167，168，183

Sepoy Mutiny（1857），28，174

Sermon on the Mount，142

Shaanxi province，62-3，65，291-2，308

Shandong province，147

Shanghai，69-82

British defense of，88-94，95，140-2，145，151，152，175，176，181-2，186-9，235，239，263，264，268，269-70，273-4，275，278，279，282-3，286，291，293，295，297，303，335，398*n*

British settlement in，xxvi，39，43，69-85，87，91-2，93，140-2，150-1，179，185-9，261-3，269，271-9，282-3，303，306，335

Bund of，71，247

Chinese community in，48，92，95，231，266-7，268，269，271，272，304-7

cholera epidemic in，304-7

fall of Ningbo and，238-45，246，247-8

foreign residents of，xxiii，9，48，65-6，69-85，87，88-91，95，144-5，264-5，304-5，321

French military forces in，93-5，101，140，141，175

French settlement in，91，93-5，140，150-1，263，265，269，273，276，278

garrison of，89，271-3，291

mercenaries in，xxiv-xxv，75-8，95，186-9，265-9，285，314-16，318-20

missionaries in，80-5，91，94，142-9，180-1，227-30，259-60，265，273-4

neutral zone around，185-6，221，235，237，242，246，248，291，318，359-60，398*n*

Qing control of，70-1，89，92，135，140-2，144-5，256，260-1，264，270-3，291

refugees in，264-5，304-7

suburbs of，93-5，101，152

Taiping correspondence with，91-2，145，151，152，175，181

Taiping military threat to，69-80，91-5，140-2，145，151，152，175，181，260-70，271，273-4，291，314

Taiping relations with，9-10，69-2，88-95，101，140-5，146，149，151，152，153，175，176，181，183，185-6，202，219，238-40，247-8，260-70，273-9，293，306-7，316

as trading port，26，43，48，150-1，171-2，181，185-6，212-13，231，235，274，284，359-60

U.S. settlement in, 58, 91, 140-2, 188-9, 261-3, 269

Shaoxing county, 156, 361

Sharp’s carbines, 74

Sheeps Pen (Yangzhanling), 197-8, 199

Shence Gate (Nanjing), 341, 342, 344

Shi Dakai (Wing King), 132, 135, 191, 245, 343

Shield King, *see* Hong Rengan

Shouzhou, 292-3

Sichuan province, 62-3, 65, 115, 132, 137-8, 191, 245

siege warfare, 126, 128, 130, 134, 135-6, 154-5, 180, 237-8, 256, 286, 294-5, 307-13

Sikhs, 89, 92, 96, 101, 104, 105, 108, 243

silk, 9, 27, 42, 72, 81, 85, 145, 174, 175, l8l, 196-7, 222, 231, 272

silver, 61, 103, 107, 115, 121, 163

slavery, 11-12, 58, 62, 288

smuggling，28，36，127，212-13，286

“Society of God Worshippers，” 16-18，56，57

Song dynasty，13，160-1

Songjiang，74-5，77-8，187，188，264，265-6，268，269，285，286，293，294，316，318

South Bridge（Nanqiao），285

south gate of Nanjing，294-5，340

Statistical Society of London，180

Staveley，Charles，323

steamships，61，65-6，90，141，159，180，191，192，203-4，235，271-3，296-303

suicide，21，67，68，70，81，103，128，131，134，155，238，349

Summer Palace，3，30，54，105，107-10，139，164-7，168，169，179，217，247，360，371*n*

Sun Yatsen，361

Sushun，168，225，226-7，255

Suzhou，65，70，71，73，75，78-9，82-3，135，256，263，286，293，307-8，309，319，321，329，341，342，344-5，353，427*n*

Suzhou massacre，329-33，334，342

Swinhoe，Robert，110

swords，119，121，125，126，295

Sykes，William Henry，179-82，236，239-40，287-8，299，300，301，335

taels，103，121，150，187，206，215，243，271，272，399*n*

Taiping Gate（Nanjing），341-2，344，348

Taiping Rebellion

agriculture under，42，51-2，55，56，155-6，186-8，219-20，338-40，345-6

armies of，18，55-7，62-6，69，116，130-1，135-6，141，148，198-209，235，291-3，*see also specific armies*

British neutrality and intervention against，xxiii-xxvi，9-11，25-49，73-4，79-85，87，89-92，152-3，172-9，182-6，200-3，206，231-48，271-87

casualties in, xxiii, 79-80, 92-5, 358-9

cavalry units of, 67-8, 79

Christian doctrines of, xxvii, 13, 15-20, 27, 39-41, 53-60, 62, 65-6, 73, 78-85, 89-90, 94, 123-5, 135, 140-9, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160-1, 177-81, 221, 223-4, 227-30, 234, 273-4, 275, 290, 301, 307, 405*n*

civil service of, 57, 114-16, 148, 157-9, 161, 251, 253-4

as civil war, xxiii-xxiv, xxvii-xxviii, 9-10, 12, 23, 26, 29, 38-9, 42, 67, 72-4, 76, 79, 80-1, 84, 90-9, 97, 160, 179-82, 184-5, 231-7, 247, 283, 298, 336, 362-3

communalism of, 55, 56

Confucianism as viewed by, 90, 123-5, 158-61

coup attempt in, 55, 56, 64, 131

defeat of, 336, 337-54, 360

diplomatic relations of, xxiv-xxv, 59-60, 65-6, 89-90, 141-9, 157, 183, 191, 192, 201, 203, 210, 220-1, 236, 271, 273-4, 283-4, 337, 353, 363-4

divine mission of18 39-40 54-6 60 66 135 144 146-7 181 234 307

eastern strategy of204-7

economic development ofxxiv 10-11 57 60-2 81 82 84 149 155 157 187

educational reforms of57 114-16 141-2 148 149 157-9 161 251 253-4

Elgin’s contact with39-43 152-3

ethnic Chinese support forxxv xxvii 11-12 28-9 157 160 161 177-9

executions in21-2 29 55 58 70 155 156 206

finances of19 57 143-4 155 157 187 246

food supplies of51-2 55 56 64-6 159 162-3 186 203-4 212-13 338-43 344

foot binding opposed by156

foraging campaigns of64-5 135

foreign accounts of，18-19，79-85，89-90，94，140-2，145，152-3

foreign relations of，xxv-xxxvi，9-10，18-19，65-6，69-85，89-90，94-5，140-9，152-3，157，181，182-6，191，192，200-3，210，219-21，231-45，271，273-4，280，282，283-4，285，337，353，360，363-4

foreign trade of，65-6，69-85，89-90，94-5，140-2

garrisons of，74-8，137-9，155-6，191-2，207，274-9，293，294-5

government of，27，55-62，84，87，89-90，140-63，176-7，180，186-8，236-7，338，362

hair style of，70，154，155，156，157，187，361

Hope’s negotiations with，152-3，182，184-6，201-2，221，232，235，237，238-40，242，244，245

intelligence information on，8，30，41-2，90，132，136，144-5

“kings” of，144，161-2，185，203，241，244，257-8，271，293，338，342，*see also specific kings*

land reform by，55，56

leadership of, 23-4, 55-7, 64-6, 144, 161-2, 185, 203, 241, 244, 257-8, 271, 293, 338, 342; *see also specific leaders*

legacy of, xxv-xxviii, 355-64

legal system of, 53-5, 61, 155-6, 187, 338

Marx’s analysis of, 10-11, 174, 230, 283

massacres in, 17-18, 93-5, 175-6, 283-4

mercenaries used by, xxiv-xxv, 26-7, 74-78, 186-9

military commanders of, 136-7, 148-9, 154-5, 187, 291-3; *see also specific commanders*

military discipline of, 154-5, 187

military strategy of, 55-6, 57, 58, 62-6, 136-7, 141-3, 148-9, 191, 192, 208-10, 214, 219-20, 293, 343-4

missionary support for, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 78-85, 89-90, 91, 142-9, 163, 177-81, 209, 221-3, 227-30, 257-60, 273-4, 289-91, 337, 338, 363-4

name assumed by, xxvii-xxviii, 9, 10, 18

Nanjing as capital of，9，13，19，21，23，24，27，35，39-40，44，50，51，52，55，62，63，64-8，114，130，132，134，135-6，152-3，156，162-3，171-7，182-6，187，191，201，202-3，207，235，241，242，244，252，253，271，274

as nationalist movement，xxvii，58，157-8，173-82，359，361，362

naval forces in，9-10，12，65-6，90，127-8，141，148，159，180，191，192，203-4，235，241，271，298

Parkes’s negotiations with，182-6，210，238，239，242，247-8，271

passports issued by，79，149，324

political origins of，xvii-xviii，17-20，90-1

popular support for，12，15-24，42，52-3，67，90-1，154-62，177-82，338-40

press coverage of，xxiv，11-12，81-2，83，84-5，93-5，97，143-4，177-9，181，182，223-4

propaganda on，xxvii-xxviii，18-19，81-2，159-62，264，361

as Protestant sect，53-4，59-60，73，78-85，140-1，143-4，146-7

puritanical regime of，53-5，62，81，82，155-7

Qing dynasty challenged by，10-11，17-20，32-3，39-40

racist attitudes toward，11-12，28-9，58

recmitment for，204-6，208-9，343-4

reformist agenda of，58-62，179-82

refugees in，22，24，69，78-9，97，187，263，264-5

as revolution，10-11，57，84，145，157-8，173-9，283

Sabbath observed by，54，81，82

Shanghai relations of，9-10，69-82，88-95，140-5，146，149，151，152，153，175，176，181，183，185-6，202，219，238-40，247-8，260-70，273-9，293，306-7，316

social agenda of，10，53-5，58-62，81，82，84，143-9，155-62，180，338，362

southern strategy of，62-3，219-20

steamships sought by, 65-6, 90, 141, 159, 180, 191, 192, 203-4, 235, 271, 298

stockade forts of, 207-12, 214, 215

supply lines of, 64-6, 135, 203-4

at Suzhou, 78-85, 97, 114, 141, 146, 148, 153, 158, 175, 186, 192, 253, 265, 270

taxation by, 57, 155, 157, 187

territories controlled by, 9-12, 15-18, 38-9, 42, 62-6, 67, 69-70, 113-14, 116-18, 119, 131-8, 141, 153-7, 162-3, 172, 183, 186-8, 191-2, 204-9, 219-20, 231-46, 257, 264-5

theocracy of, xxvii, 53-8, 62, 78-85, 94, 155-7, 180-1, 223-4

U.S. relations with, xxiv-xxv, 26, 27, 31, 78-85, 143-5, 146, 224, 244

Taiping Tianguo (“Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace”), 9, 10, 18

see also Taiping Rebellion

Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine, 84

Taiwan，35，172，362

Taku forts，25，27，30-3，34，37，44，45-9，72，73-4，86，89，95，97-9，100，101-2，103，104，150，151，152，305

Tang dynasty，124

Tang Jian，117，128

Tan Shaoguang（Esteemed King），329-30

Tartars，58，160，177-8，181，209，301，379*n*

Tattnall，Josiah，44，47，48，173，233

taxation，57，150，155，157，187，257，271

tea，9，27，42，72，85，145，147，174，181，222，231，232-3，252，284

telegraph，159，298

Tennyson，Alfred Lord，47

Three Gorges，133

Three Rivers（Sanhe），133-4，313

“Tian De”（“Heavenly Virtue”），9

Tianjin□33-6□37□43□48□88□106□150□152□169-70□171□222□306

Times□London□□12□47□97□100□102□103□104□105□108-9□151□164□178□234□237□275□283-5□302□321□332□413*n*□418*n*

Tokugawa Shogunate□37-8

Tongcheng□137□193□203□208□209-10□214

Tongzhou□103-4□105□106

Trenchard□Stephen□47

Trent incident□1861-1862□□262-3

tunnels□siege□311-12□346-9□403*n*

United States

British relations with□xxiv□77□87□231-6□247□261-3□282□284□288-9□299□301□320□325□328□334-5

Christian culture of□59□80□143-4

as democracy□60□148

as global power□36-7□60

navy of，262-3

neutrality of，26，36，47，143

Qing relations with，26，27，31，34，35-6，44，47，72，170-1，173，282，315-16，319-20，325，328

slavery in，11-12，58

Taiping relations with，xxiv-xxv，26，27，31，78-85，143-5，146，224，244

“Vampire Fleet，” 303，329 *see also* Anglo-Chinese Flotilla，“Lay-Osborn flotilla”，

Vanity Fair，288-9

Victoria，Queen of England，105，109，164，224，233，235，247，317-18，333

Visions of Hung-Siu-Tshuen，The（Hamberg），18-19

Wade，Thomas F.，41-2，53，89，178

Walker，William，75-6

Ward，Frederick Townsend，xxv，xxvi，75-8，95，172，187，188-9，242，261-2，265-70，273-4，285，286，287，291，

293, 294, 314-15, 316, 317, 319-20, 321, 360, 421*n*

Ward, Henry Gamaliel, 266, 267

Waternut Lake, 207-10, 214, 215

Williams, Samuel Wells, 48-9, 274

Wuchang, 116, 117, 128, 130, 131, 138, 139, 183, 191, 192, 193, 196, 200, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 210, 212, 218, 219-20, 223, 253

Wusong, 263-64, 267

Wuxi, 69, 154, 253, 344

Wu Xu, 72-73, 76, 268, 271, 287, 314, 322-23

Xi’an, 308-9

Xianfeng, Emperor of China, 3-4, 30, 32, 33, 35-36, 45, 49, 103-7, 109, 110, 113, 115, 117, 123, 124-25, 128, 131, 132, 134, 135, 150, 153, 165, 166-7, 171, 217-19, 224, 255, 371*n*

son of, *see* Qing empire, child emperor of

xiangguan (Taiping local official), 156-7, 187

Xiangtan，127，128

xiucai（district-level）examinations，114-15，158-9

Xiuning，196，198，252

Xue Huan，xi，188，267，271，272，397*n*

Yale University，22，23，147，325

Yang Changmei，268-9

Yang Fang，75，266-9，314，315-16，318

Yangtze River，9，18，19，27，35，38，39，41，43，50，51，53，54，62-3，65，70，72，76，97，114，117，127，130-1，132，134，135-6，138，141，147，150，153-4，162-3，172，173，175，183-4，186，190-1，193，196，203，210，213，219-20，240-1，264，265，273，277，293，296-7，305，323，325，327，339，340，345，359-60

Young Monarch，208，338，349-50，353-4

Yuan dynasty，124

Yuhuatai（“Terrace of Flowering Rain”），294，306，307，308，309，310，312，322，340，347

Yung Wing，22，23，147-9，324-25

Zaiyuan，104-5，168，225，227

Zeng Guobao，129，134，312-13

Zeng Guofan，113-39

Anqing campaign and siege of，154，162，169，190-215，216，217，219-20，232，237-8，246，252，253，256，342

Anqing headquarters of，113-14，293，296-7，305-6，322-4，351，352，357

background of，xxv，113-16，351

correspondence of，198，199，211-12，252，256，270，271，272，306，307-13，322-3，357，358，403*n*，420*n*，421*n*，428*n*

diaries of，113-14，116，197，217，310，338-9，351

family of，113-16，192-3，196-7，213-14，252，256，308，312-13，346，357

finances of，123-5，187，270-1，272，399*n*

foreign support for，172-3，212-13，223，270-3，333，336

government administration of，251-2，255-7，338-40，355-6

imperial support for，139，168，172-3，212-14，217，218，225，252，255-7，272，306，345，353，355-8

intelligence information of，212-13

massacres allowed by，211-12，215，232，238，246，342，350-2

as military commander，116-39，251-5，270-3，291-3，305-13，318，322-3，332，336，345-6，350-8，359

military strategy of，127-39，196-7，204，209，212-14，219，252-5，270-1，293-7，306，307-13，345-6

Nanjing as objective of，252，253，256，270，271，272，273，293-5，306，307-13，322，323，337-54，355，403*n*，428*n*

naval forces of，127-8，199，204，213，293-4，325-8

Neo-Confucian philosophy of，159，161，211-12，223，251，253-4，323

personality of，113-14，128，131，197，211-12，270，306，312，345，355-8

popular support for，129-30，159，196-7

postwar years of，355-8

Qimen headquarters of，137-9，192-200，207-8，213-14，254，256，270，312

recruitment efforts of，118-23，251-5，257

reputation of，213-14，355-8，361

as scholar，114-16，130，159，161，253-4，358

Shanghai defense and，260-1，270-3

suicide attempted by，128，131

supply lines of，193，196-7，199，200，213，252，256，305-6，309，311-12，345-6，428*n*

Suzhou as objective of，253，270，271

territories controlled by，223，245，251-7，337-54

weapons technology as viewed by，125-7，295-7，323，324-5

Yung Wing’s cooperation with，324-5，356

Zeng Guohua，129，133-4

Zeng Guoquan，129，137，192-3，196-7，199，210，211-12，252-3，272-3，293-5，306，307-13，315，322，340，345-52，357-8

Zhang Guoliang，63-4，67，114，295

Zhang Zai，160-1

Zhejiang province，70，154，155，156，208-9，214，237-8，246，253，255，256，257，281，282，304，306，310，312，314，344，358

Zhelin，285

Zheng Afu，280-1

Zhenjiang，38-9，63，154，183

Zhou Dunyi，160-1

Zhouzhi，308-9

Zhu Xi，160-1

Zuo Zongtang，199，206，253，306，344

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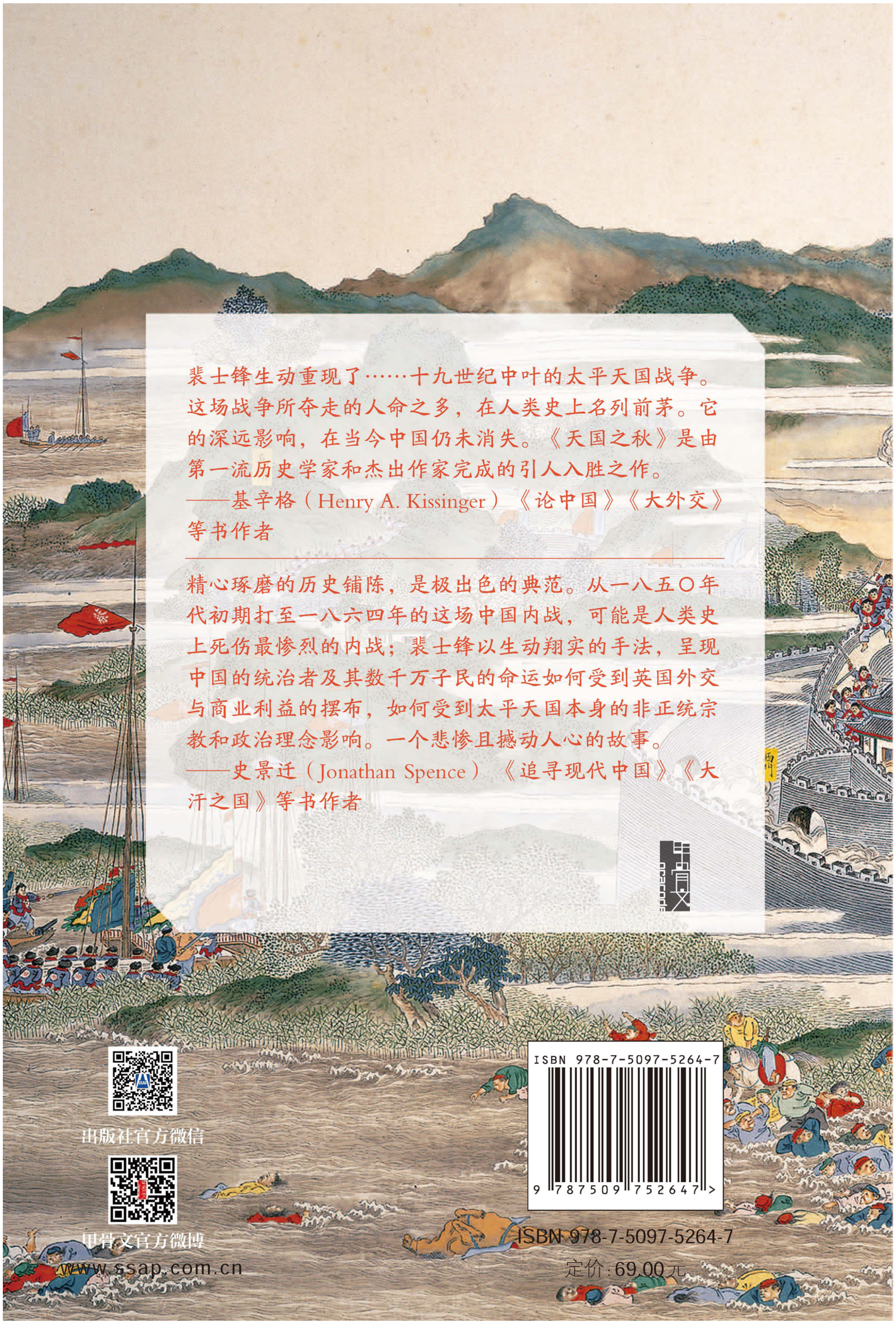

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